



The Institute for Conflict Studies and Analysis of Russia

Russian Society Monitoring

# MIRROR OF RUSSIA

Wave  
7

Dynamics of Change: December, 2022 - September, 2023

Together with



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# RESEARCH METHODOLOGY



**Survey methodology:** CATI (Computer Assisted Telephone Interview) – telephone survey on an interactive structured questionnaire using software for conducting sociological surveys.

**Field dates:** 14 - 28.09.2023

**Sample size:** 1600 respondents

**Sample type:** The sample is proportionally stratified according to the characteristics “8 federal districts of the Russian Federation” and “type of settlements” (urban/rural population; for the Central Federal District - Moscow and St. Petersburg / other urban population / rural population). For each country, gender and age quotas were calculated – men/women in separate age groups (28-24 years old, 25-34 years old, 35-44 years old, 45-59 years old, 60 years and older). The sample reproduces the geographic parameters and sex and age proportions of the general population - all adults (18 years and older) residents of the Russian Federation\*. The statistical error with a probability of 0.95 does not exceed 2.5%.

\*Official statistics on the population of the federal districts of the Russian Federation and the age and sex composition are taken from open Internet sources.

# RESEARCH SUMMARY



## Financial problems became problem number one for the Russians

The Institute for Conflict Studies and Analysis of Russia (IKAR) together with sociological company Info Sapiens conducted a monthly sociological survey called "The Mirror of Russia".

The seventh wave was conducted on a nationwide sample during September 14-28, 2023. The survey's methodology is the CATI method (Computer Assisted Telephone Interview), a telephone survey by interactive structured questionnaire using special software for sociological surveys.

A total of 1,600 respondents were interviewed.

## Main results of the seventh wave of the survey:

**For the first time during the monitoring, the problem of low level of salaries and pensions, which cannot keep up with rising prices, took the first place (42%) among the main problems for the Russians, pushing the problem of war into the second place (31%).**

The trend of a gradual increase of the relevance of financial problems for Russian society with a simultaneous decrease of the relevance of the problem of the so-called "SMO" was clearly visible throughout the spring and summer of 2023.

**More than half (52%) of Russians answer that their savings would last only for several weeks or one month if they lost their main source of income. Another 15% assess their "financial cushion" as sufficient for only a few months.**

It is important to note that there is no significant difference between age groups and the majority of Russians, regardless of age, point to the short-term possibilities of living on their savings.



# RESEARCH SUMMARY



The proportion of those among Russian citizens who have someone close, or acquaintance being mobilized has been constantly increasing since the beginning of the full-scale invasion on February 24, 2022: 70% of respondents now say that they know someone who was conscripted.

However, the dynamics of answers regarding those killed in action is even more important - 55% in September 2023 (versus 30% in December 2022) answered that they knew someone of these Russians.

69% of respondents wouldn't support a new wave of mass mobilization.

On average, 60% of Russians expressed lack of support for such a step during 2023.

With the advent of autumn, this figure has increased more significantly and reflects the stable attitude of Russian society.

A relative majority (44%) of Russian citizens consistently want the so-called "SMO" to end no later than in a couple of months or six months. Every fifth person believes that it will last one or two years, and only 13% are in favor of an indefinite war until complete victory. The tendency to end the war as soon as possible prevails among Russian citizens, even though only 5% are confident that all its goals have already been achieved and 44% of those who believe that the goals have been only partially achieved.

# RESEARCH SUMMARY



The reluctance of new waves of mass mobilization and the desire for a quick end of the war against Ukraine do not prevent Russians from constantly supporting possible military actions against other countries: **support of possible military aggression against the Baltic states remains almost unchanged throughout 2023. Only 22% of respondents under no circumstances would support the so-called “SMO” against Lithuania, Latvia and Estonia. At the same time, the majority of Russian citizens would support such actions in case of a threat of an attack from the Baltic countries against the Russian Federation (55%), 20% would support new “SMO” if the Russian-speaking population was oppressed in these countries, and another 13% would consider the recognition of the Baltic regimes as Nazi to be such a ground for Russia.**

**The attitudes of Russians regarding support of the “Special Military Operation” against Poland are almost identical.**

**45% of Russians believe that restoration of historical justice is more important than internationally recognized borders. 39% of respondents have the opposite opinion.**

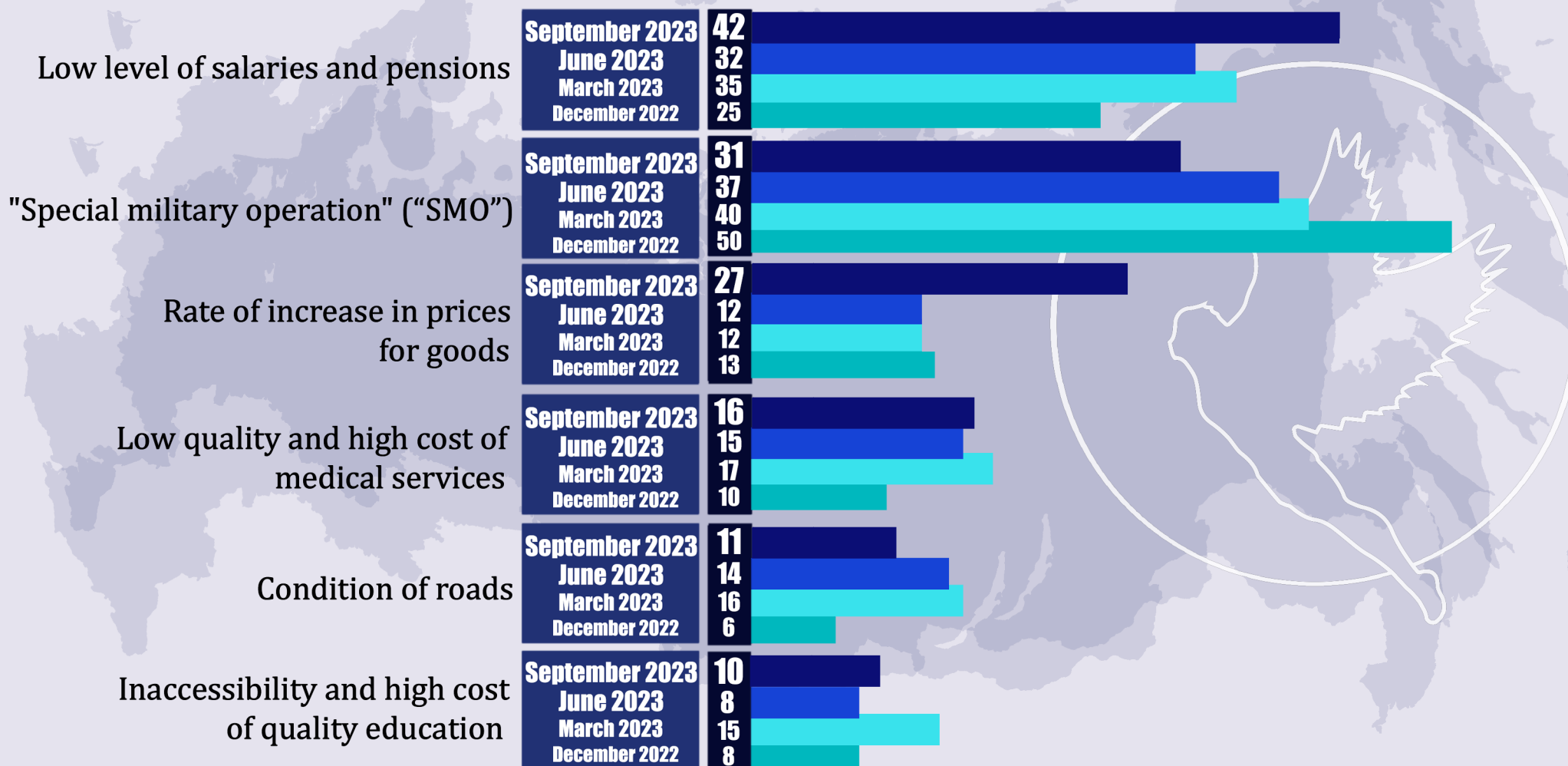
The difference between generations in this matter is quite clearly visible: the middle and, especially, the older generation tend to recognize the primacy of historical justice over international law and borders. In turn, most young people under 30 years believe that recognized borders are more important than historical justice.

# THE MOST URGENT PROBLEMS IN RUSSIAN SOCIETY



## What are the most urgent problems in the Russian Federation today?

- Dynamics of attitudes, % Respondents could choose more than one answer

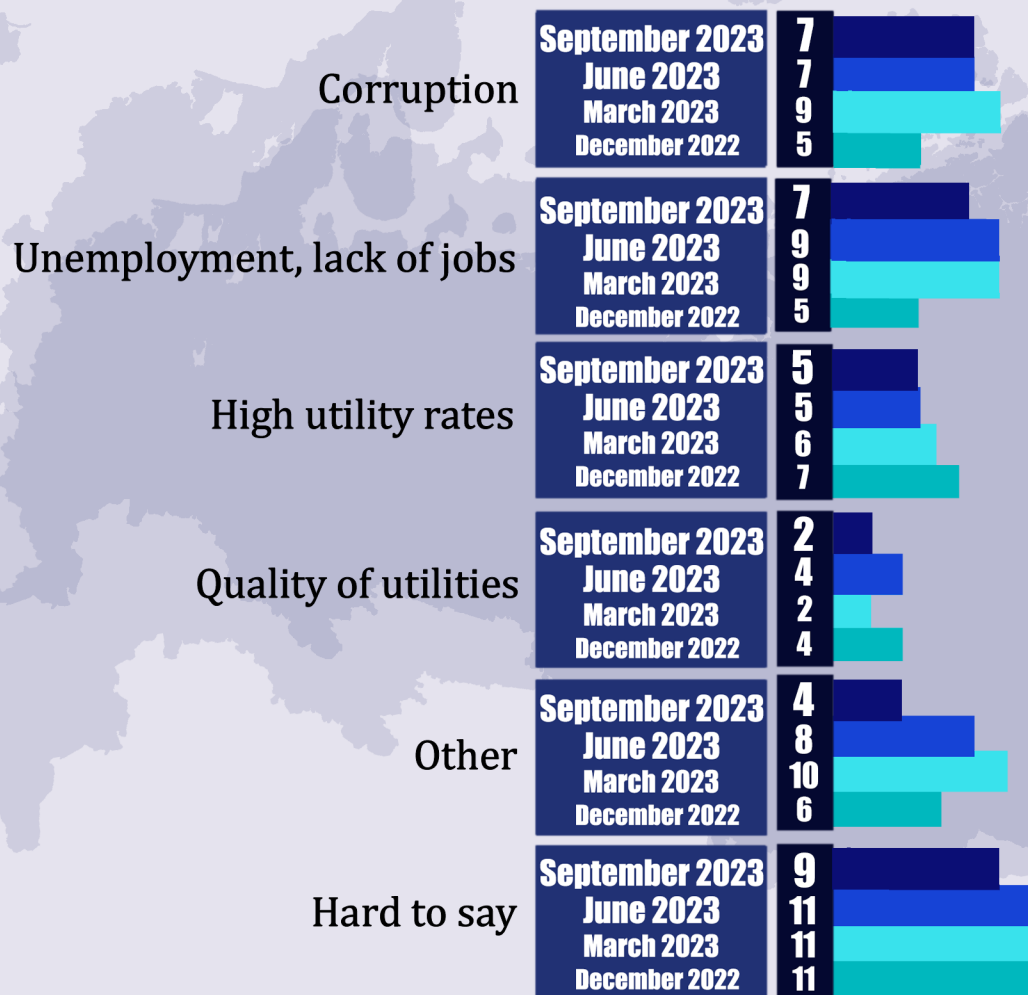


# THE MOST URGENT PROBLEMS IN RUSSIAN SOCIETY



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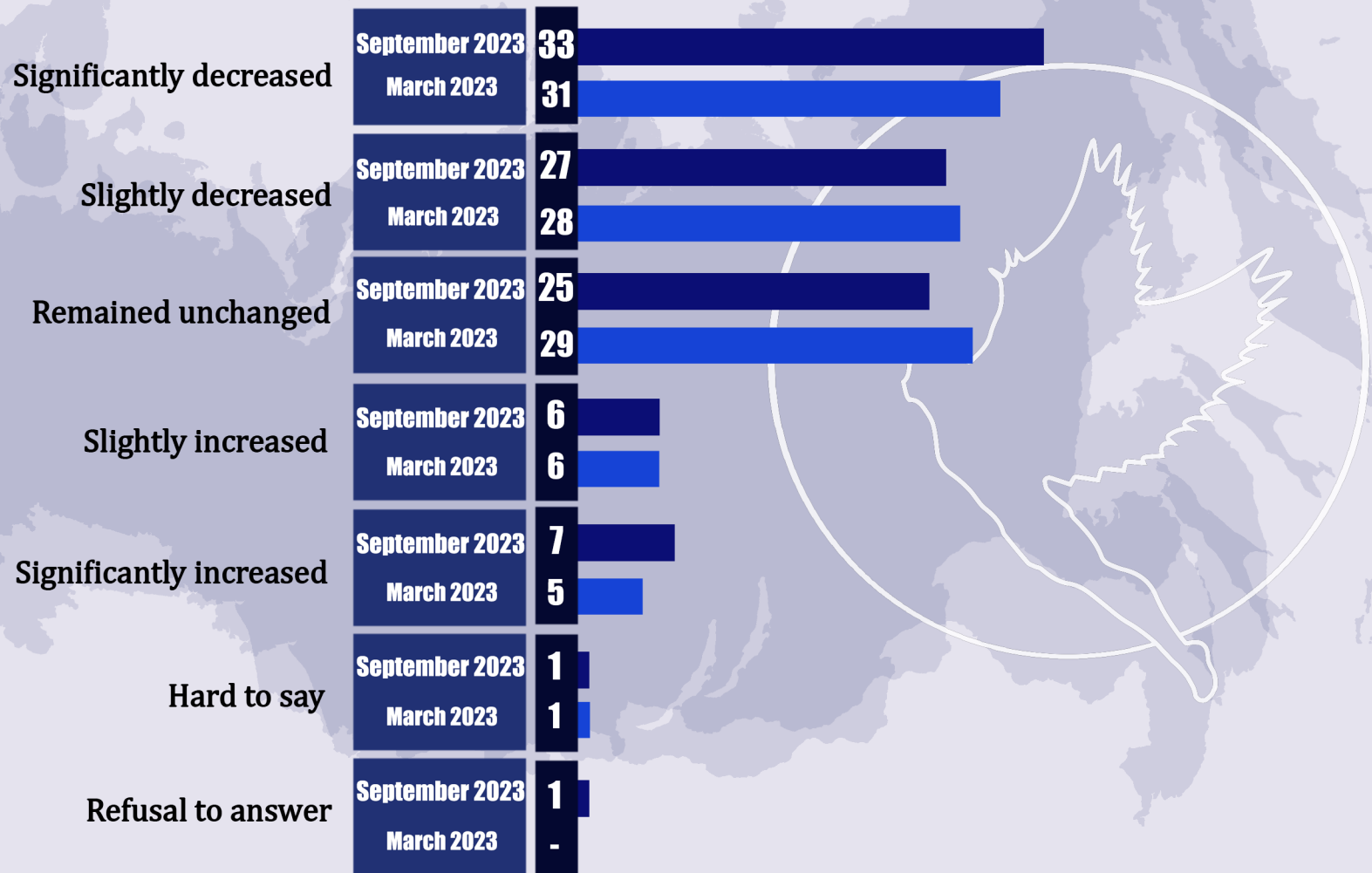


# FINANCIAL SITUATION



## How has your purchasing capacity changed within the last 6 months?

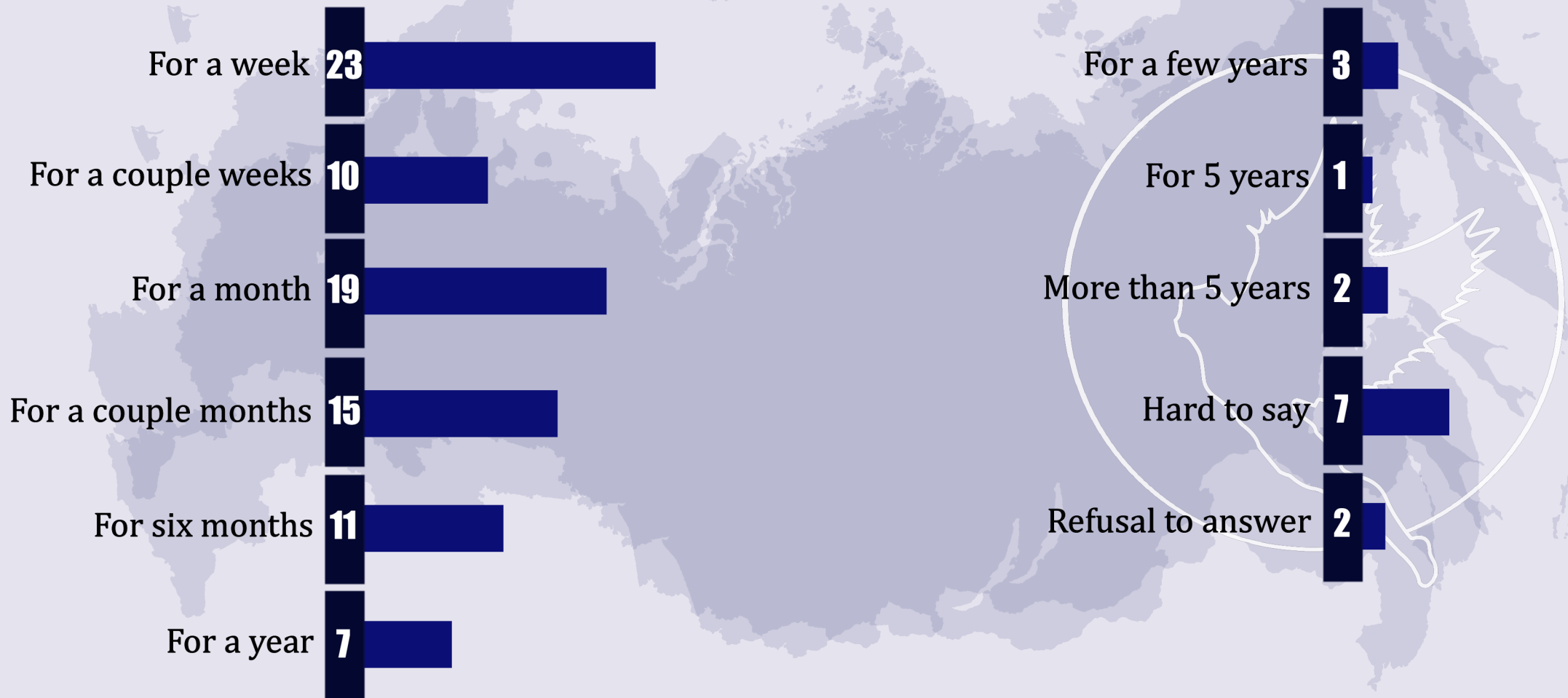
- Dynamics of attitudes, %



# FINANCIAL SITUATION



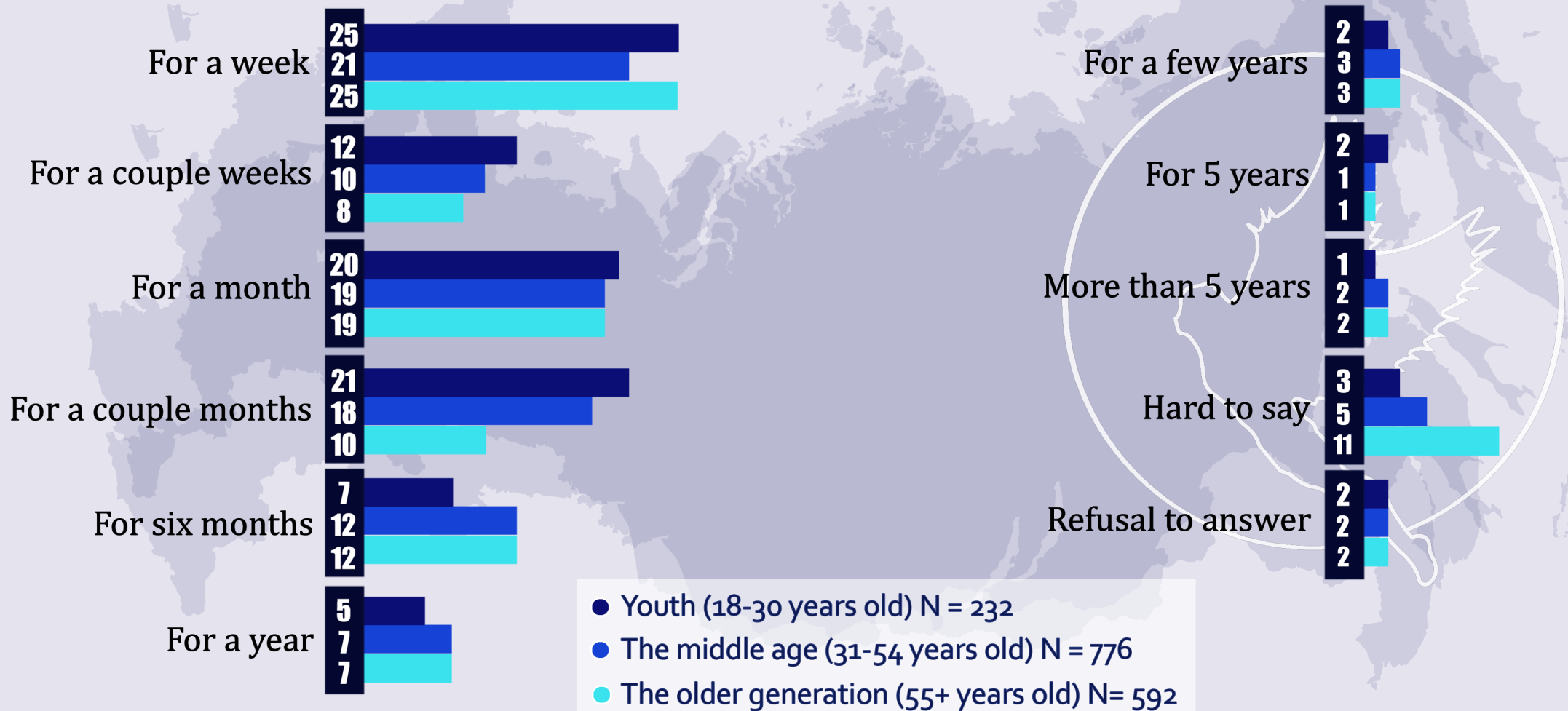
How long would your savings last in case of losing your major source of income (salary, pension)?,



# FINANCIAL SITUATION



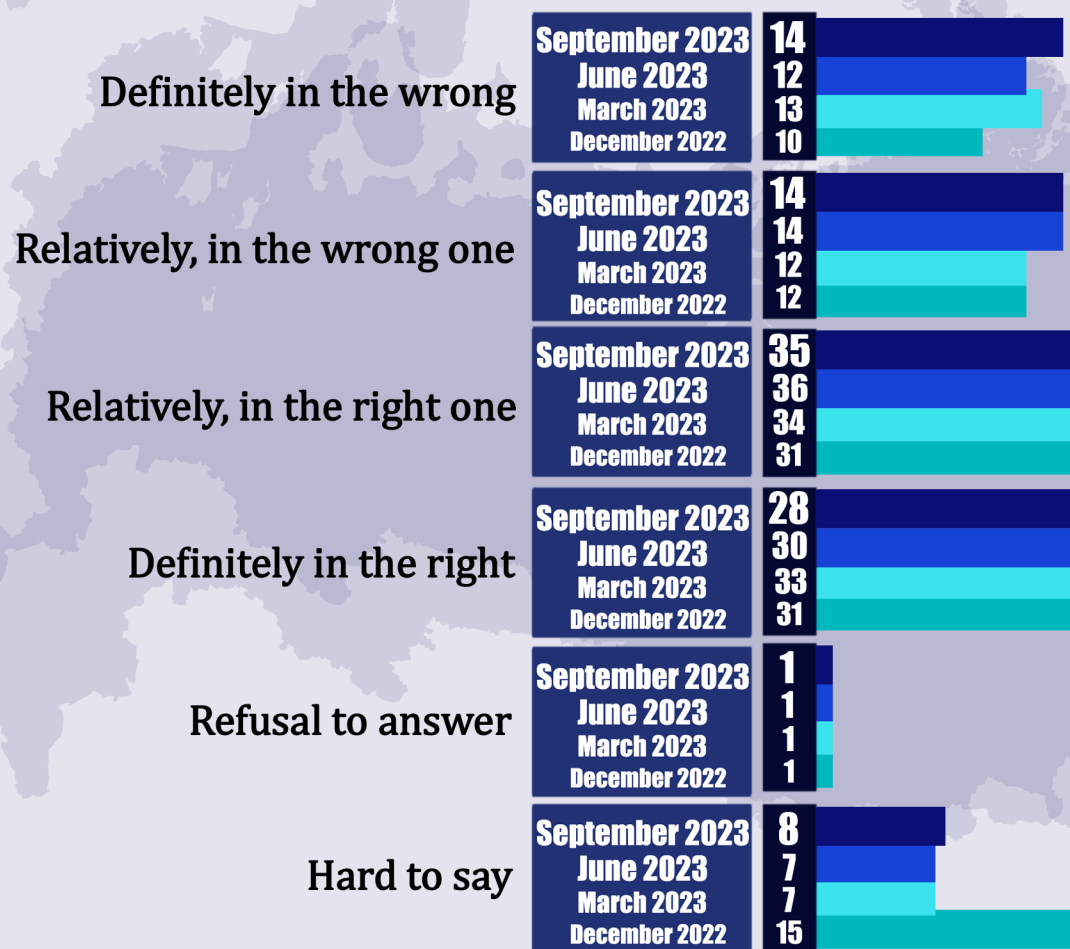
How long would your savings last in case of losing your major source of income (salary, pension)?, - Age characteristics, %



# ASSESSMENT OF EVENTS IN RUSSIA



Do you think that events in the Russian Federation are developing in the right or wrong direction? - Dynamics of attitudes, %

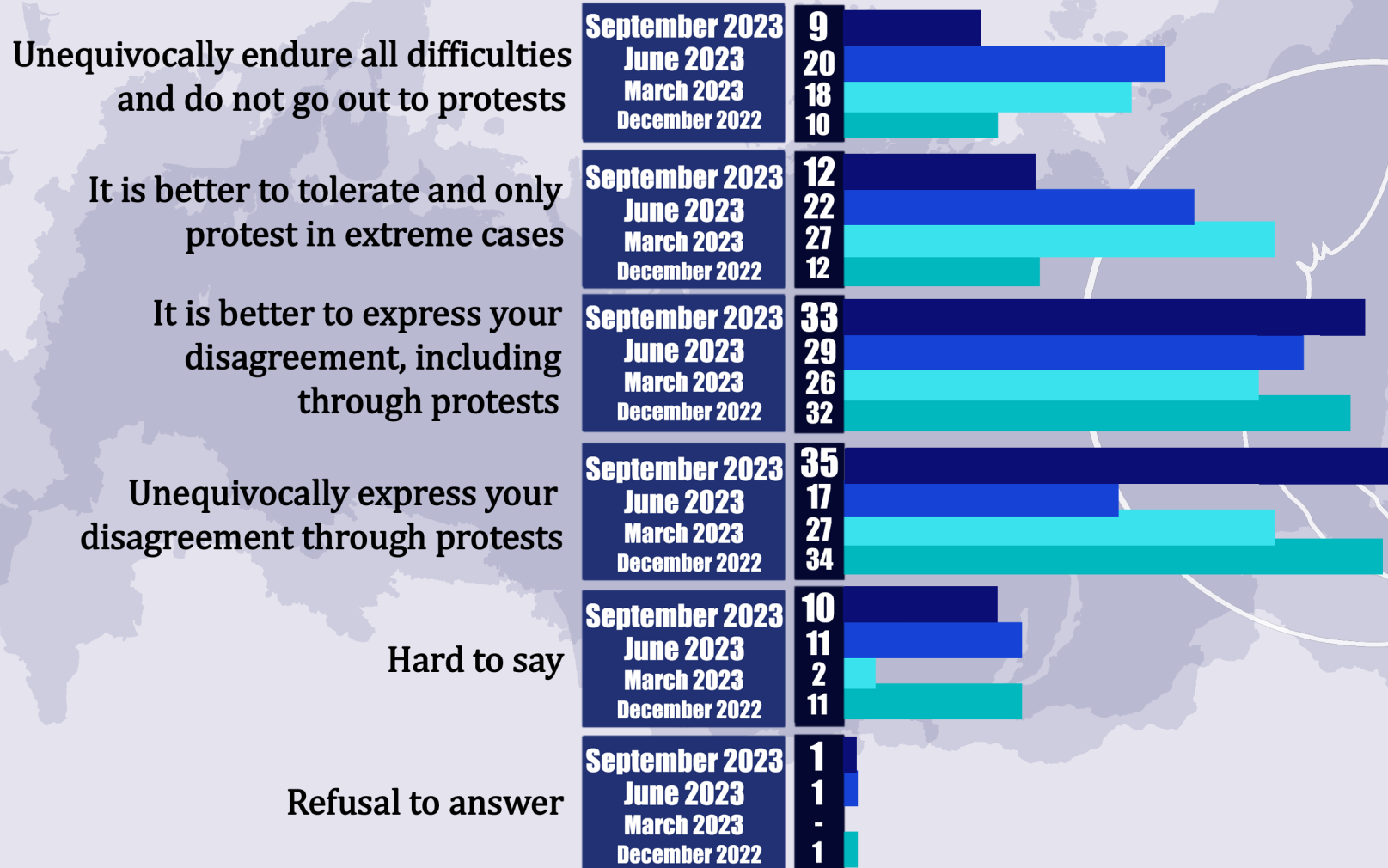




# READINESS FOR PROTESTS



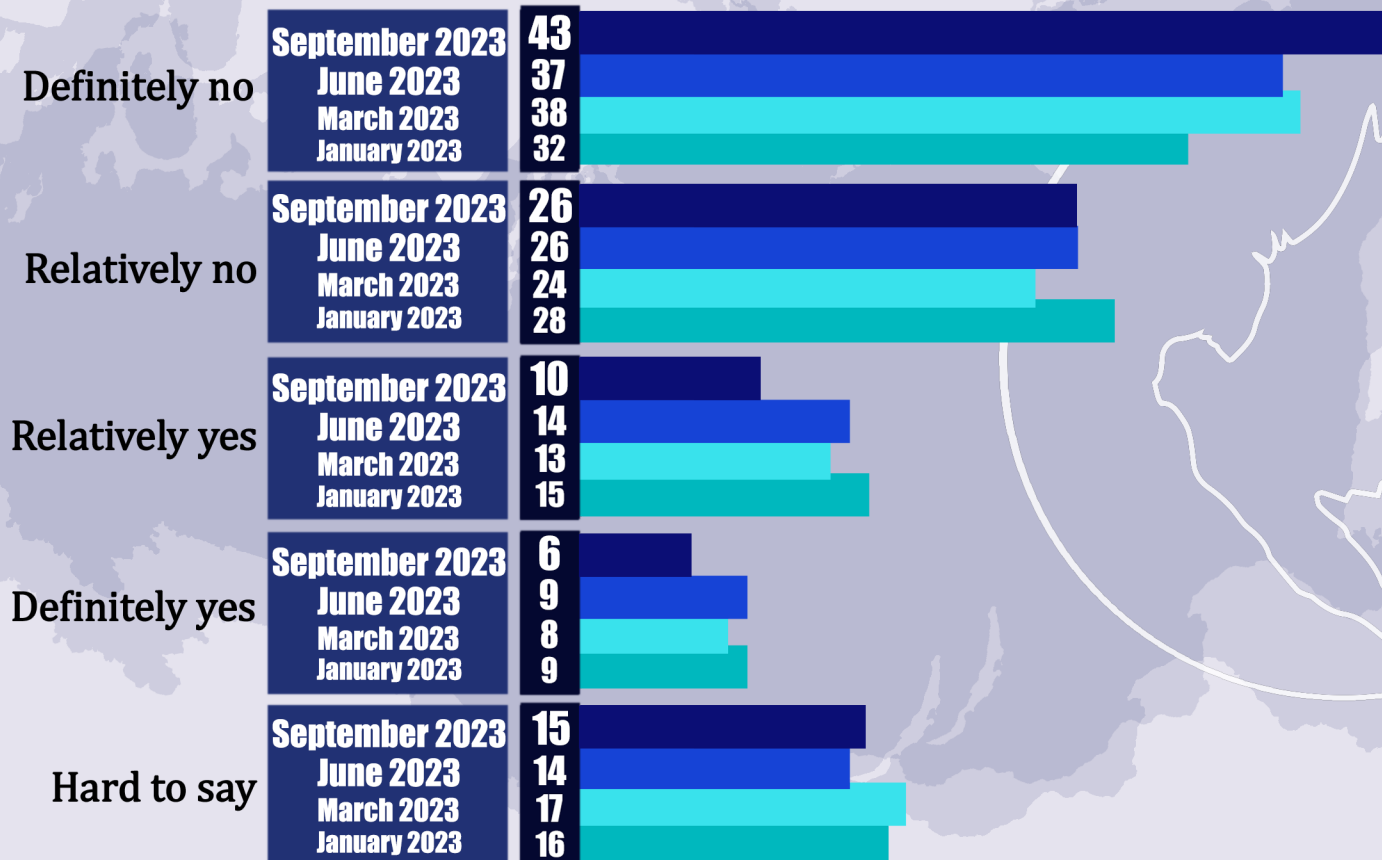
In your opinion, is it better to tolerate social and economic problems or to express disagreement with them? - Dynamics of attitudes, %



# ASSESSMENTS OF THE "SMO"



In your opinion, is it necessary to conduct another wave of partial mobilization? - Response dynamics, %

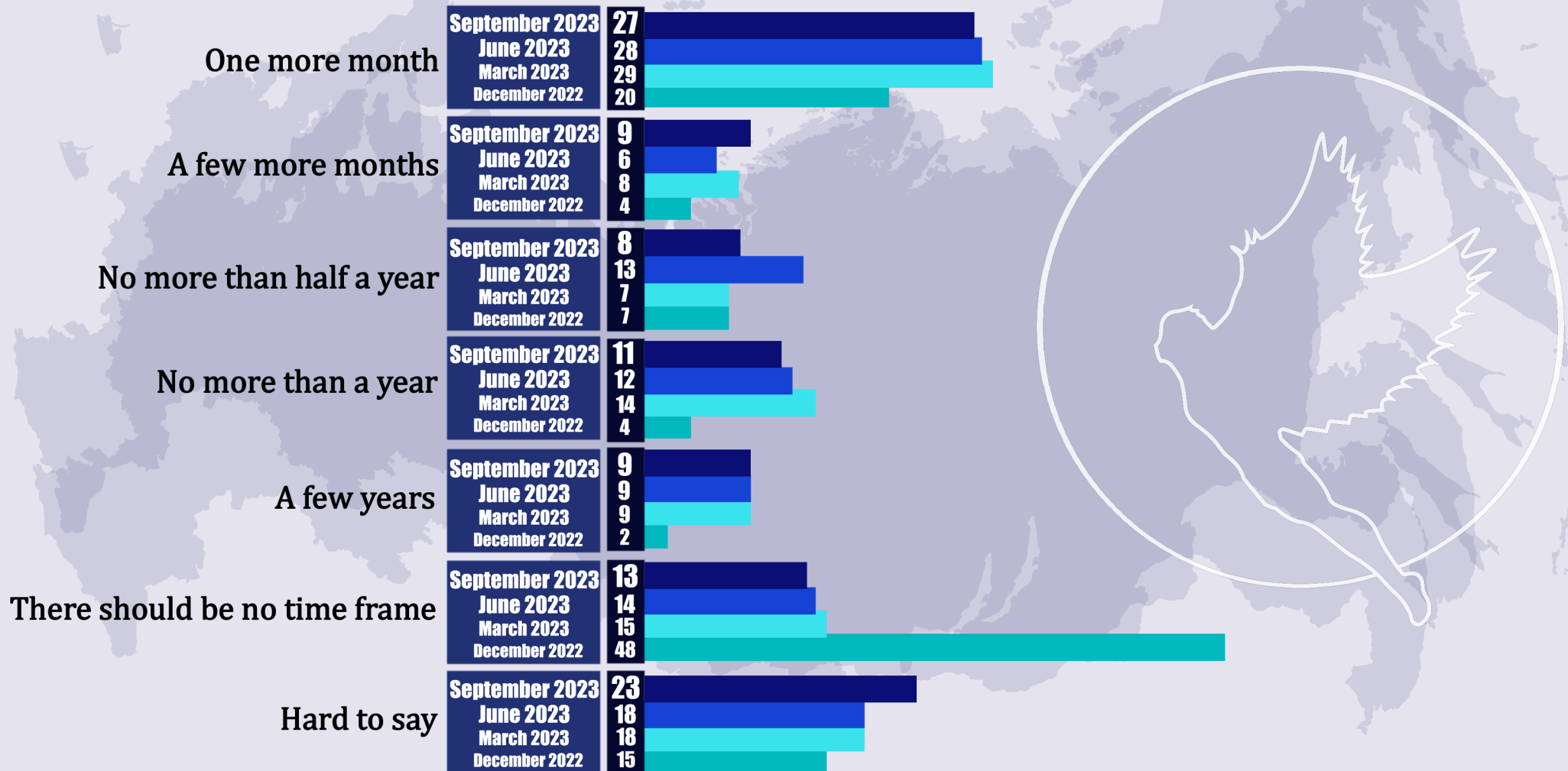


# ASSESSMENTS OF THE "SMO"



## What should be the maximum time frame for the "SMO" in Ukraine?

- Response dynamics, %

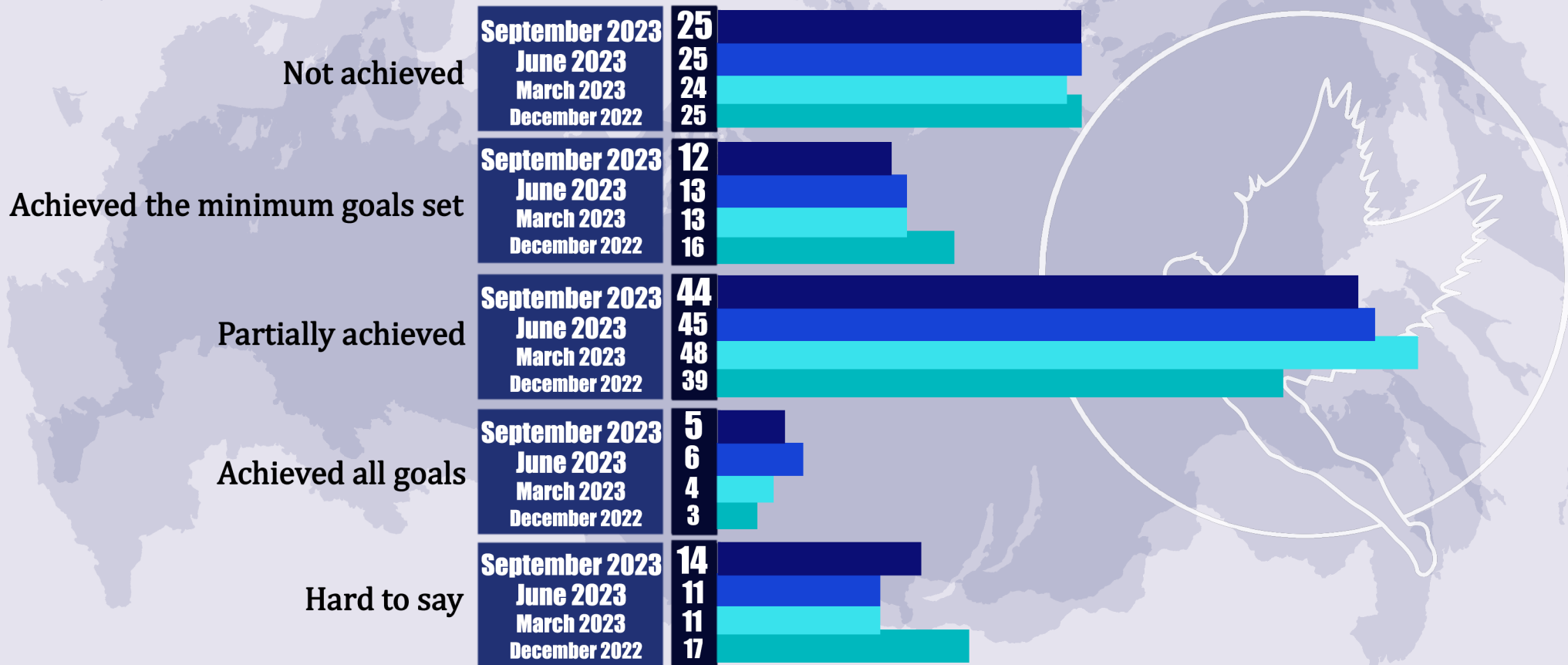


# ASSESSMENTS OF THE "SMO"



In your opinion, has the "SMO" achieved its goals in Ukraine?

- Response dynamics, %



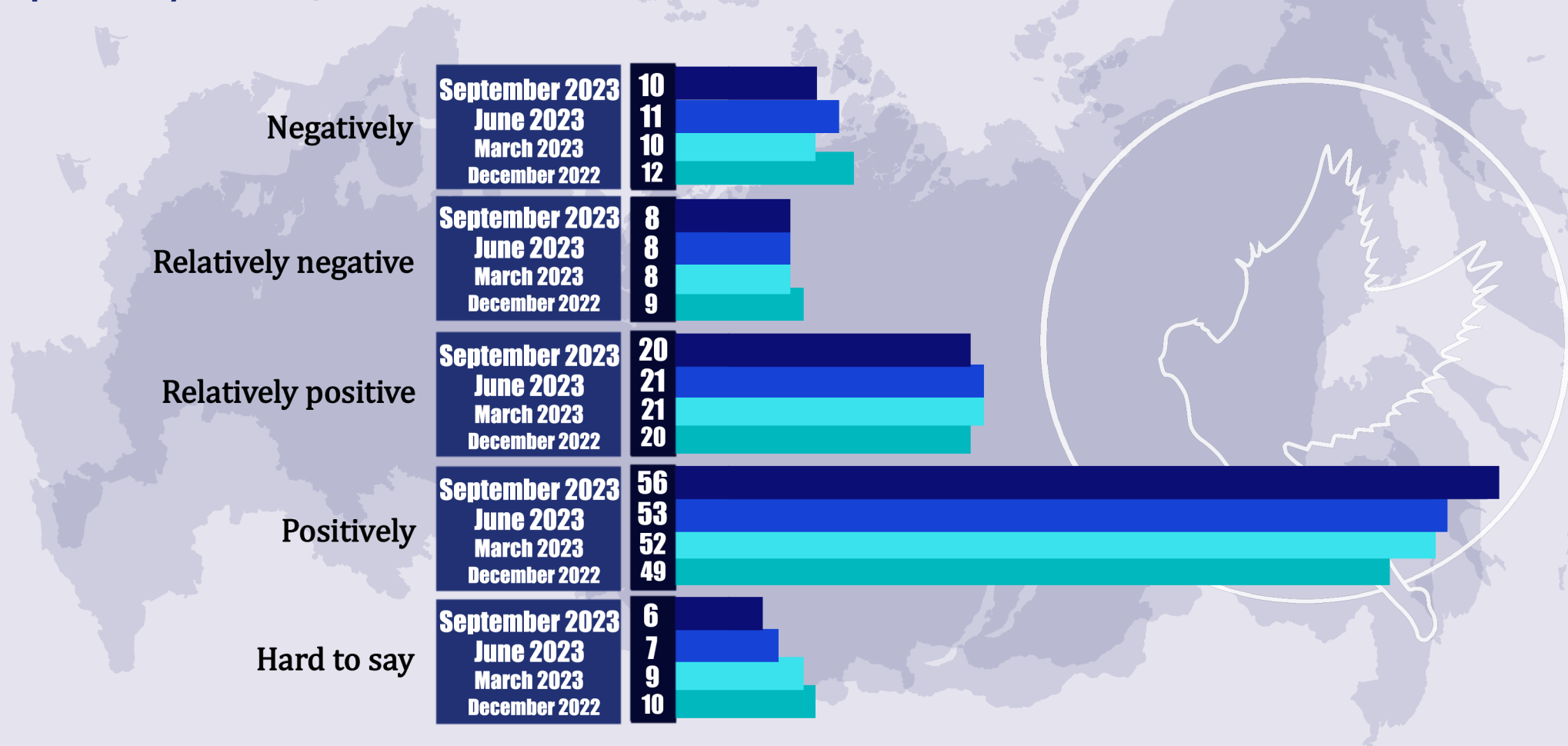


# ASSESSMENTS OF THE "SMO"



## How would you react if the "SMO" in Ukraine ended tomorrow?

- Response dynamics, %

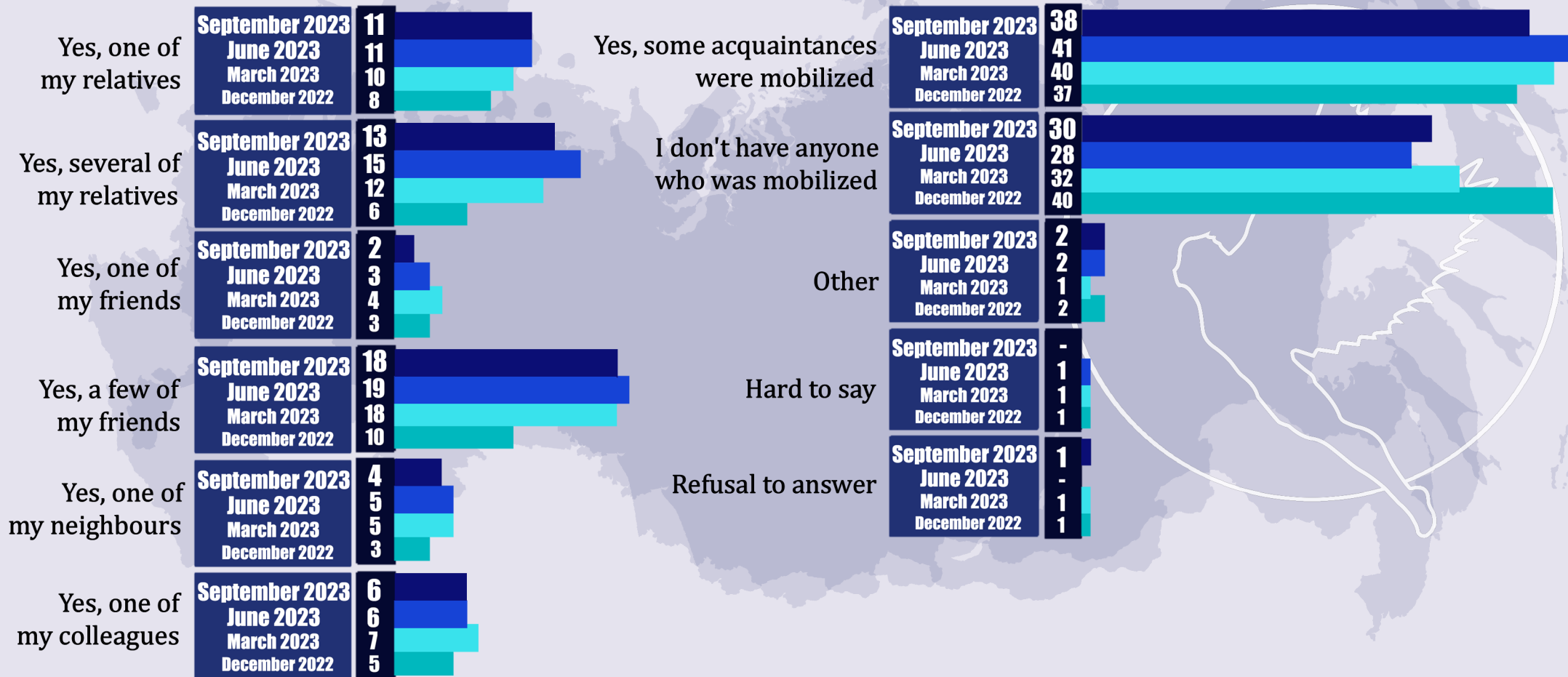


# EXPERIENCE OF THE "SMO"



Among your relatives and acquaintances, are there those who have been mobilized since the beginning of the "Special Military Operation" in Ukraine (February 2022)?

- Dynamics of attitudes, % Respondents could choose more than one answer

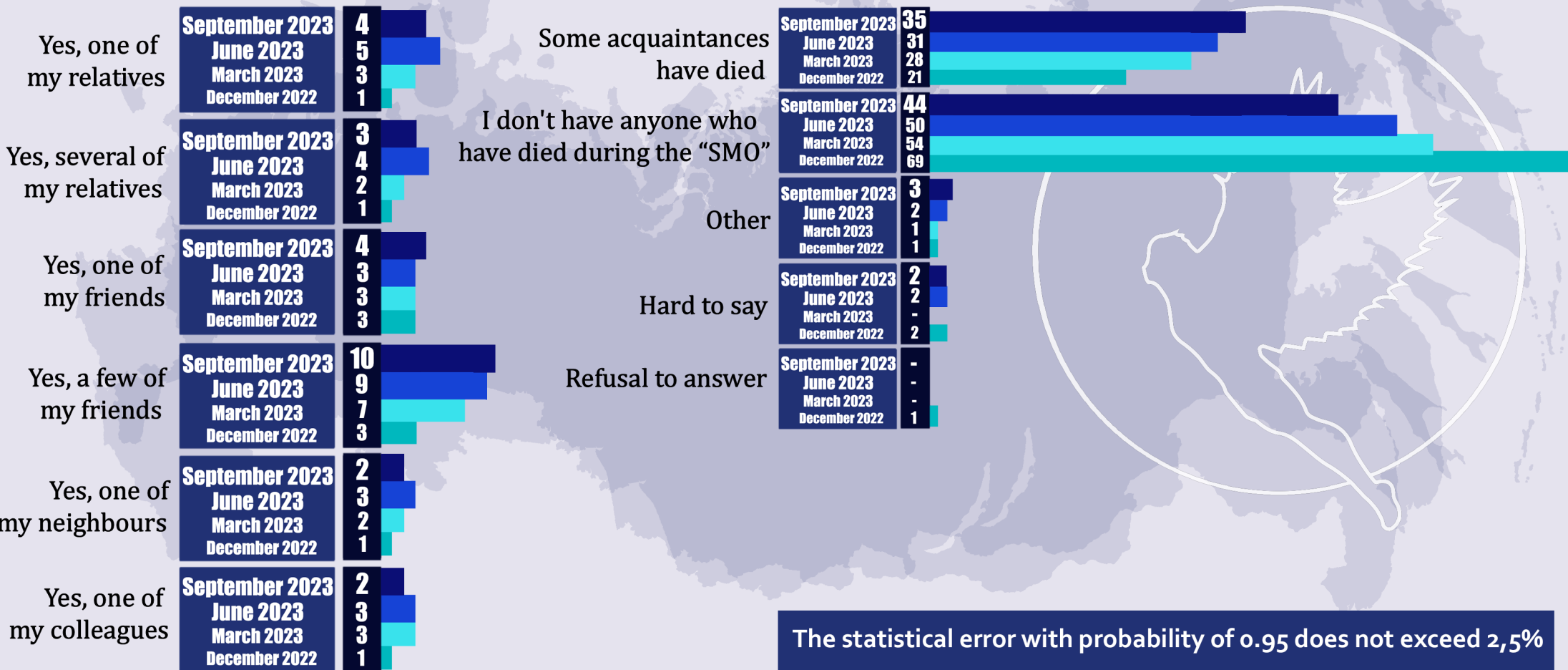


# EXPERIENCE OF THE "SMO"



Among your relatives and acquaintances, are there those who died during the "Special Military Operation" in Ukraine (since February 2022)? - Dynamics of attitudes, %

Respondents could choose more than one answer



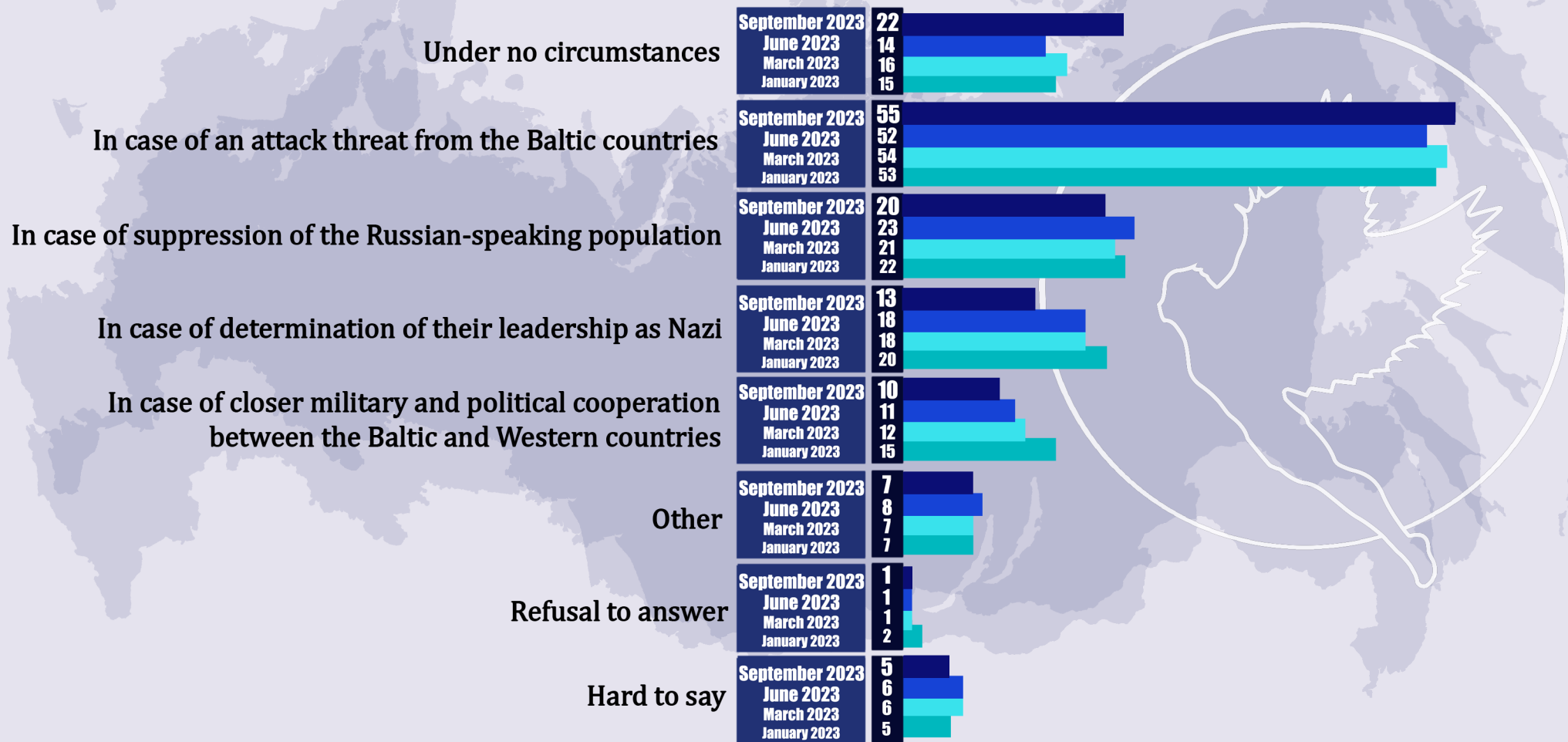
The statistical error with probability of 0.95 does not exceed 2,5%

# PERSPECTIVES OF THE "SMO" AGAINST OTHER COUNTRIES



**Under what circumstances would you support the launch of "Special Military Operation" against the Baltic countries (Lithuania, Latvia, Estonia)? - Dynamics of attitudes, %**

Respondents could choose more than one answer

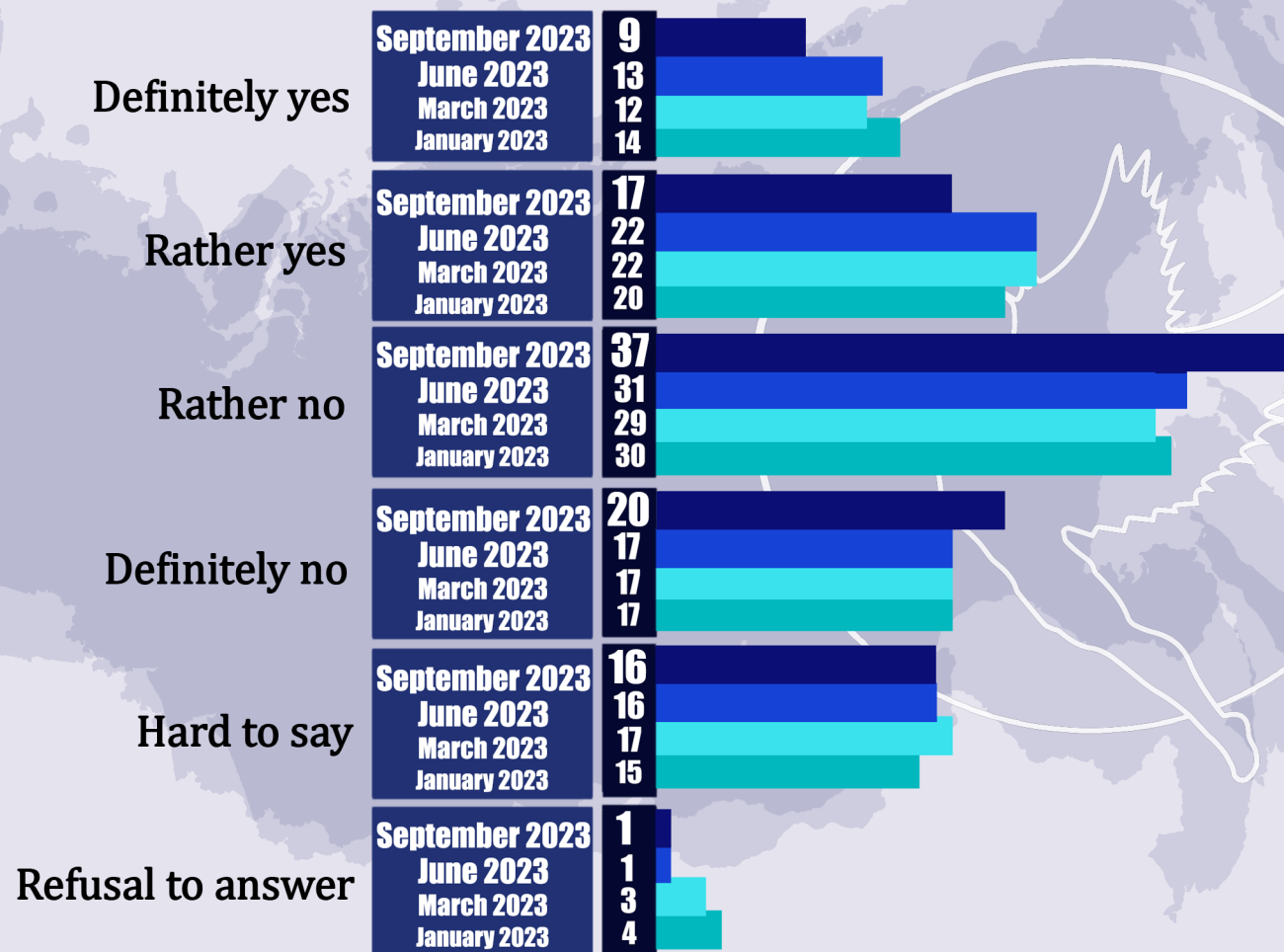




# PERSPECTIVES OF THE "SMO" AGAINST OTHER COUNTRIES



Do you see such conditions for Russia to launch the "Special Military Operation" against the Baltic countries (Lithuania, Latvia, Estonia) for today? - Dynamics of attitudes, %



# PERSPECTIVES OF THE "SMO" AGAINST OTHER COUNTRIES



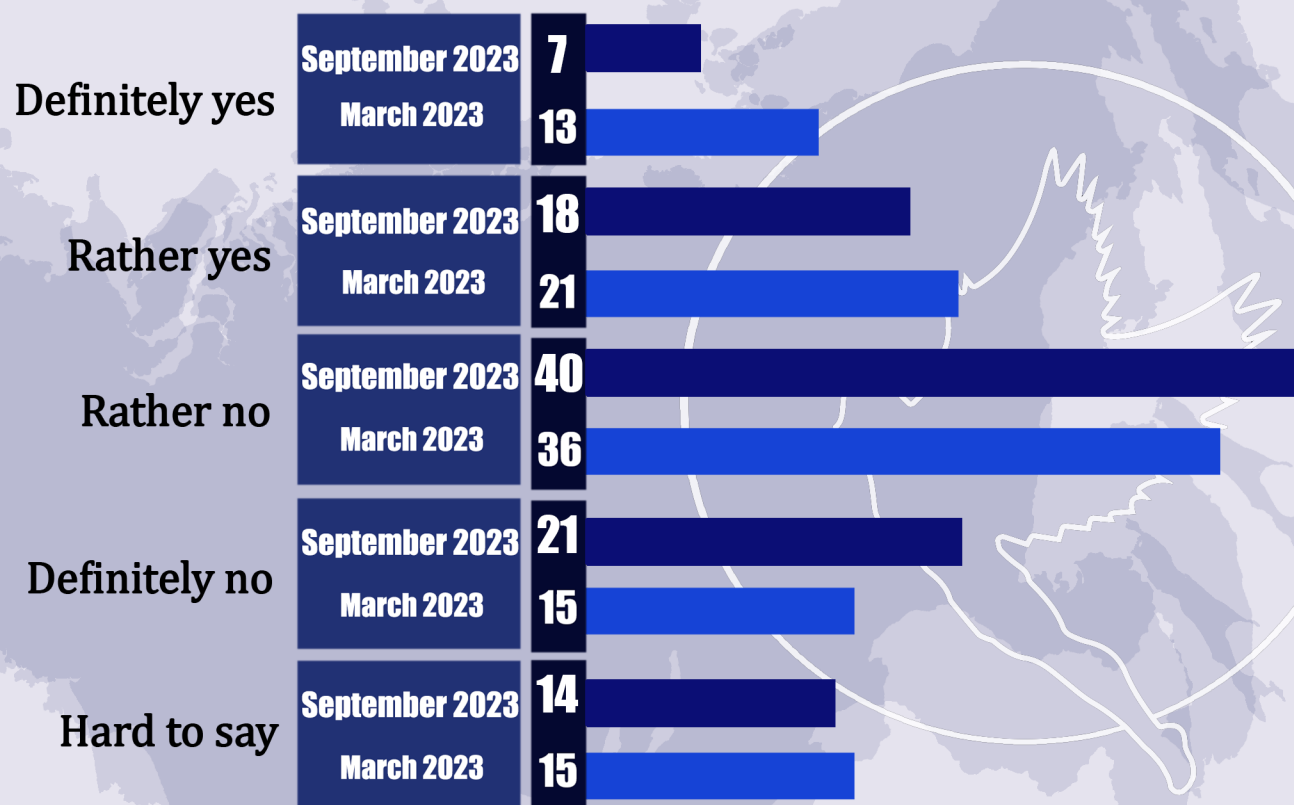
**Under what circumstances would you support the launch of "Special Military Operation" against Poland?** - Dynamics of attitudes, %      Respondents could choose more than one answer



# PERSPECTIVES OF THE "SMO" AGAINST OTHER COUNTRIES



Do you see such conditions for Russia to launch the "Special Military Operation" against Poland?, % - Dynamics of attitudes, %



# PERSPECTIVES OF THE "SMO" AGAINST OTHER COUNTRIES



**Under what circumstances would you support the launch of “Special Military Operation” aiming occupation of the Suwalki Corridor and connection of Kaliningrad Oblast to the territory of the Union State (Russia and Belarus)? - Dynamics of attitudes, %**

Respondents could choose more than one answer



# PERSPECTIVES OF THE "SMO" AGAINST OTHER COUNTRIES



**Under what circumstances would you support the launch of "Special Military Operation" aiming occupation of the Suwalki Corridor and connection of Kaliningrad Oblast to the territory of the Union State (Russia and Belarus)? - Dynamics of attitudes, %**

Respondents could choose more than one answer

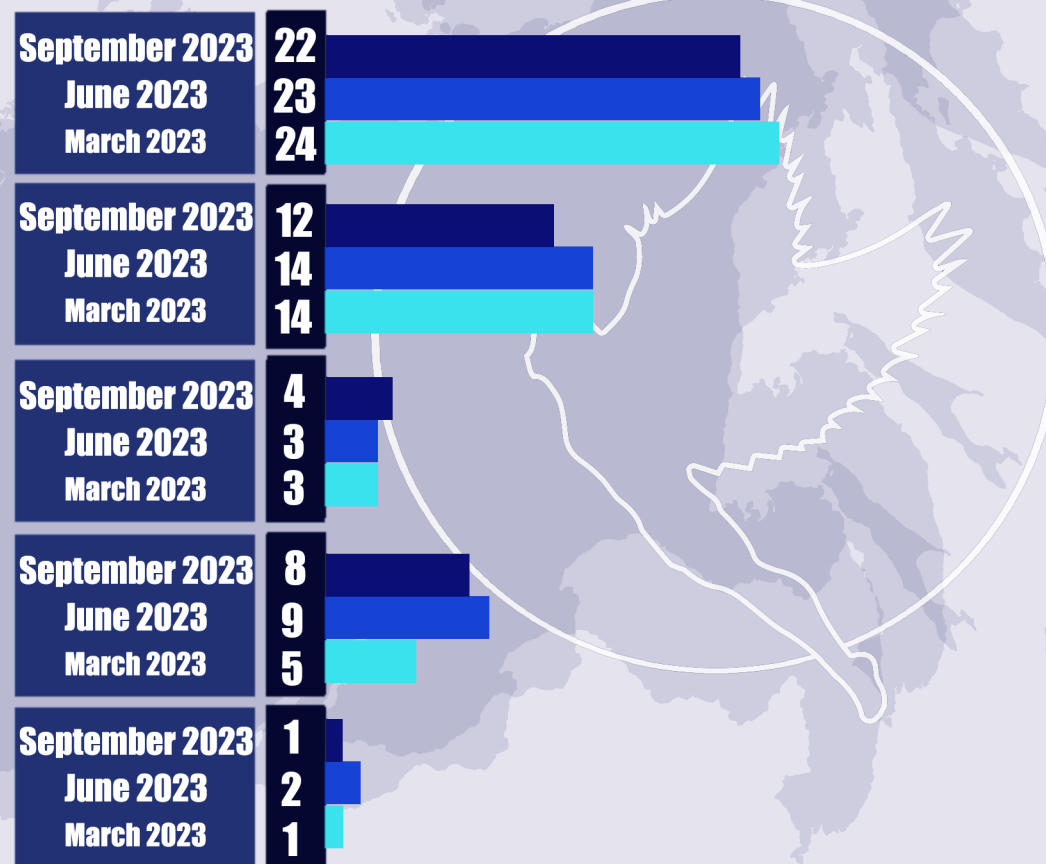
In case of an economic blockade by EU countries on Kaliningrad Oblast

As a response to Western countries and NATO support of Ukraine

Other

Hard to say

Refusal to answer

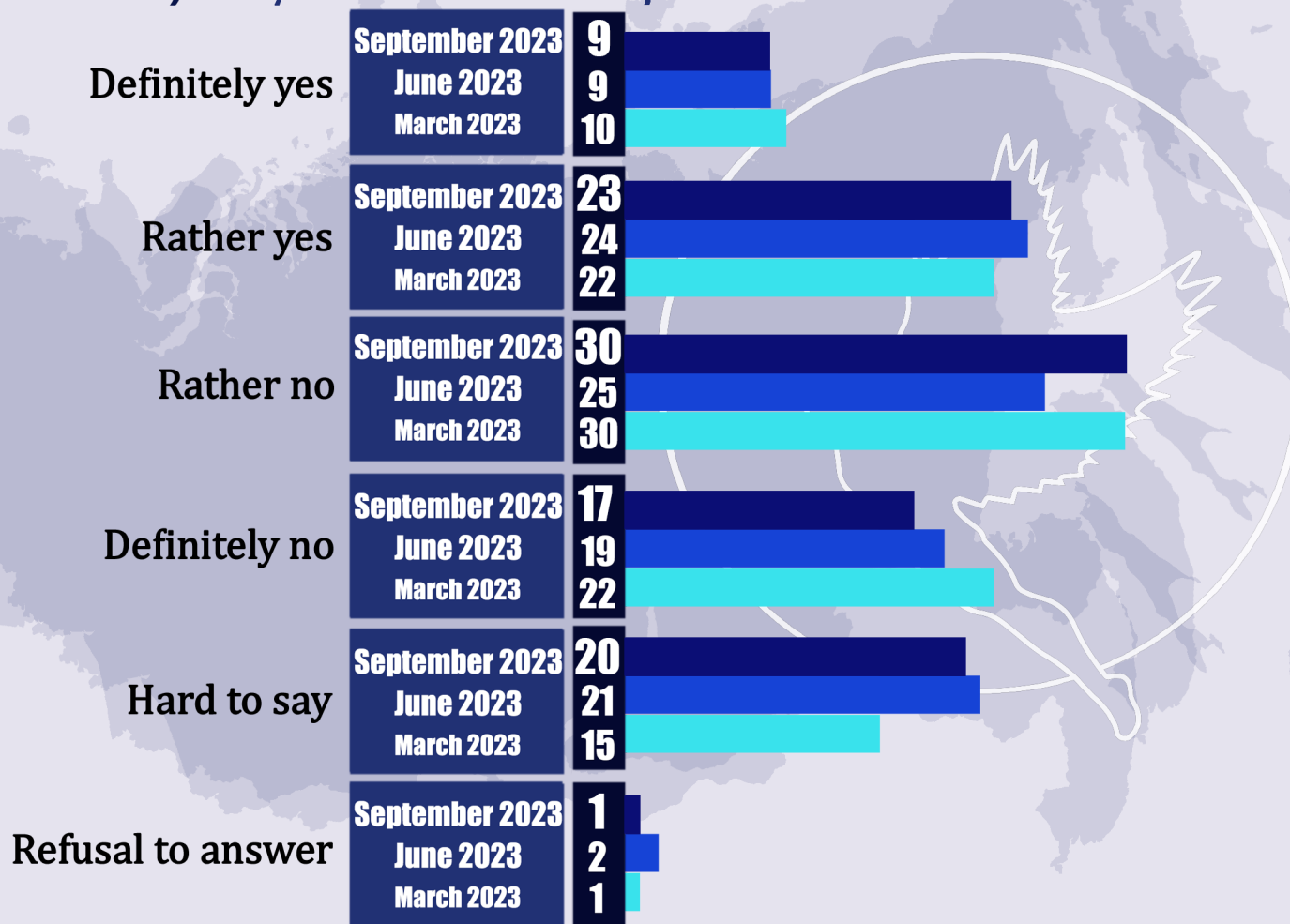




# PERSPECTIVES OF THE "SMO" AGAINST OTHER COUNTRIES



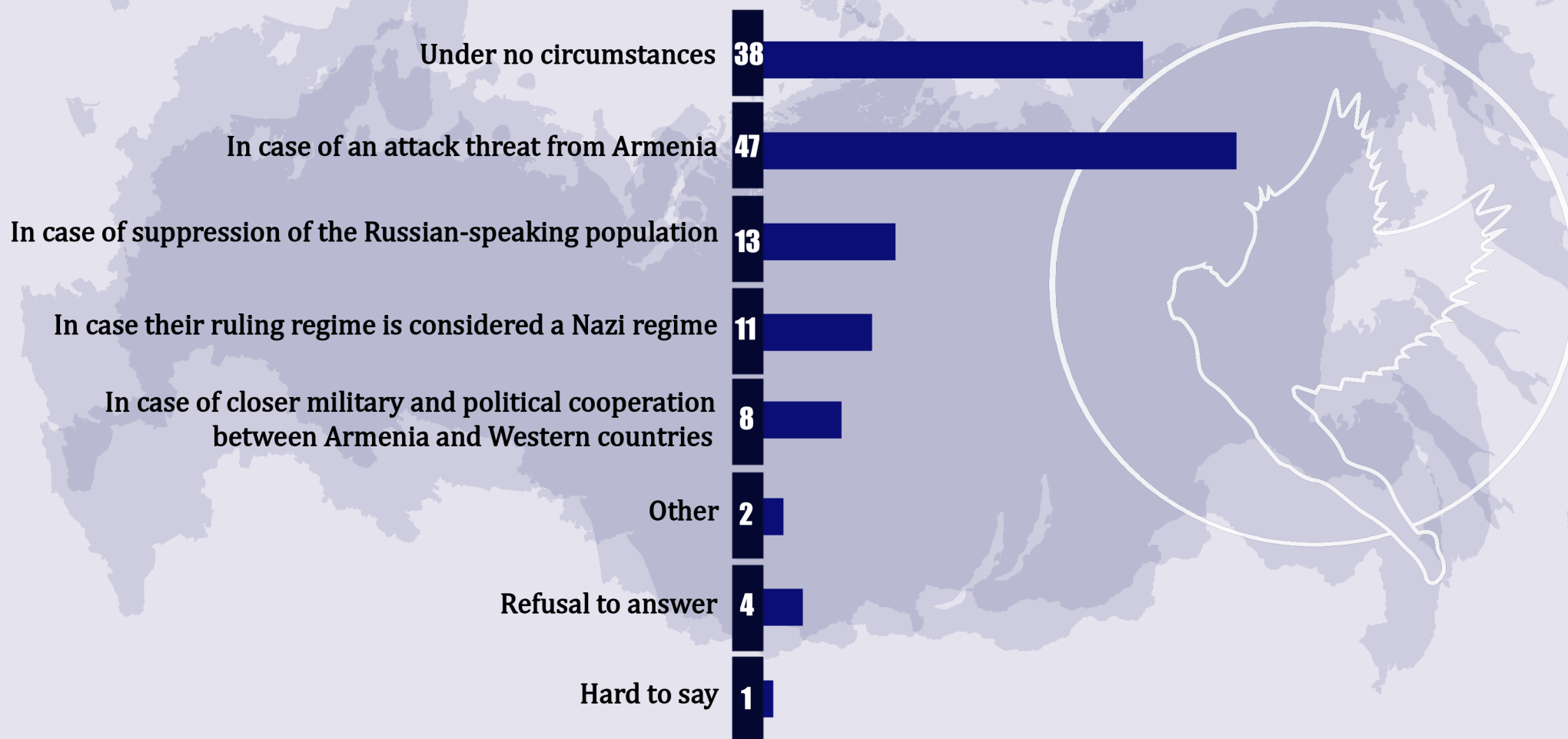
Do you see such conditions for launching the "Special Military Operation" aiming occupation of the Suwalki Corridor and connection of Kaliningrad Oblast to the territory of the Union State (Russia and Belarus)? - Dynamics of attitudes, %



# PERSPECTIVES OF THE "SMO" AGAINST OTHER COUNTRIES



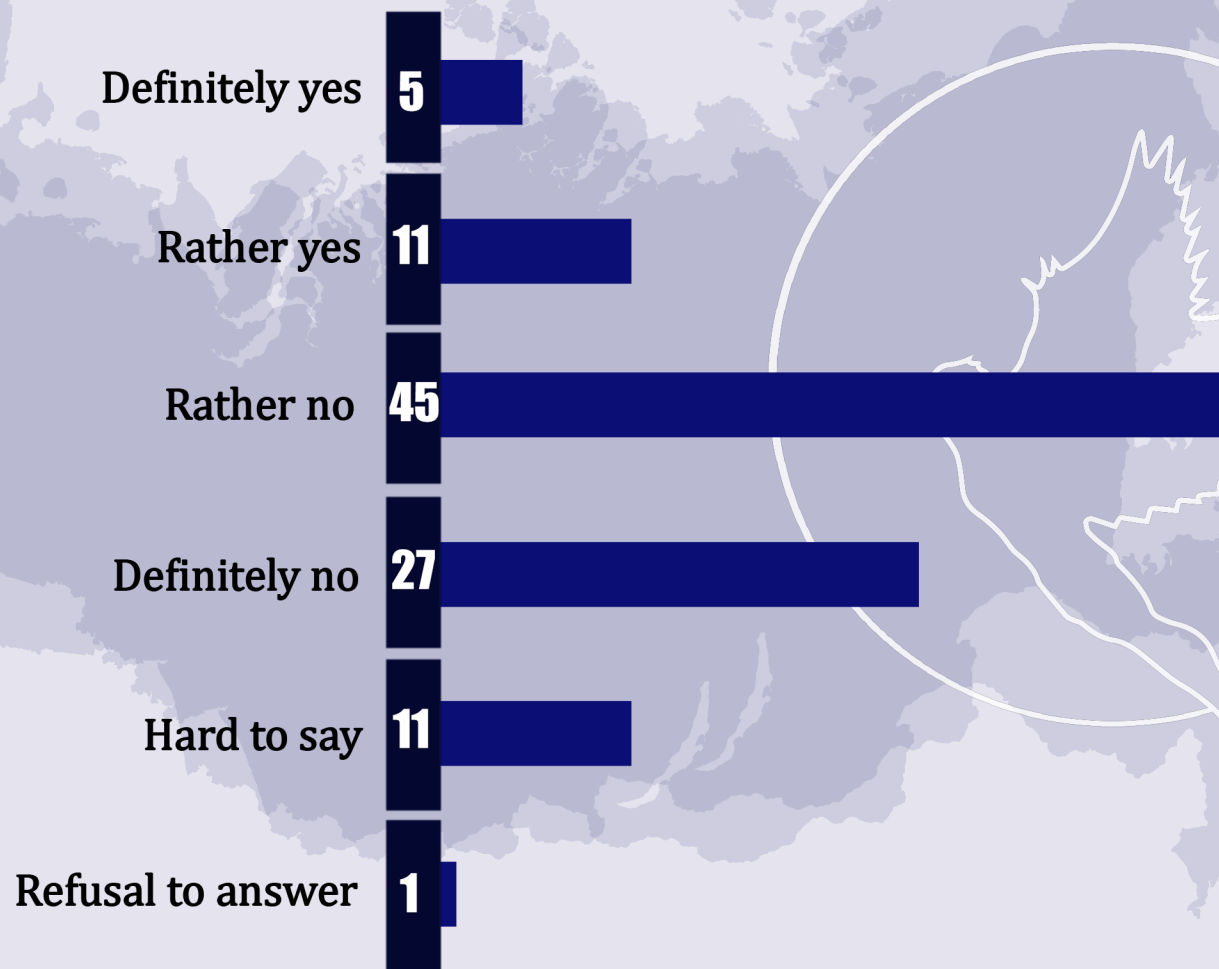
**Under what circumstances would you support the launch of "Special Military Operation" against Armenia?** - Respondents could choose more than one answer



# PERSPECTIVES OF THE "SMO" AGAINST OTHER COUNTRIES



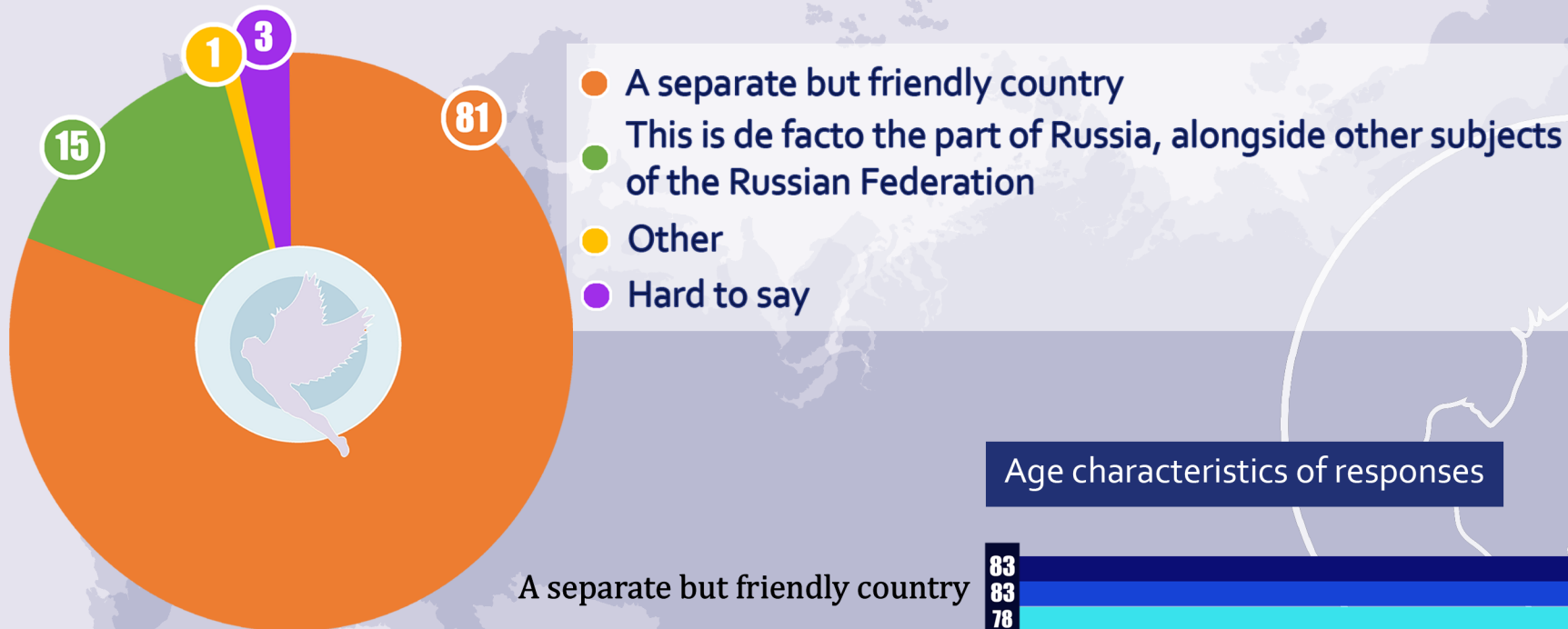
Do you see such conditions for Russia to launch the "Special Military Operation" against Armenia for today?, %



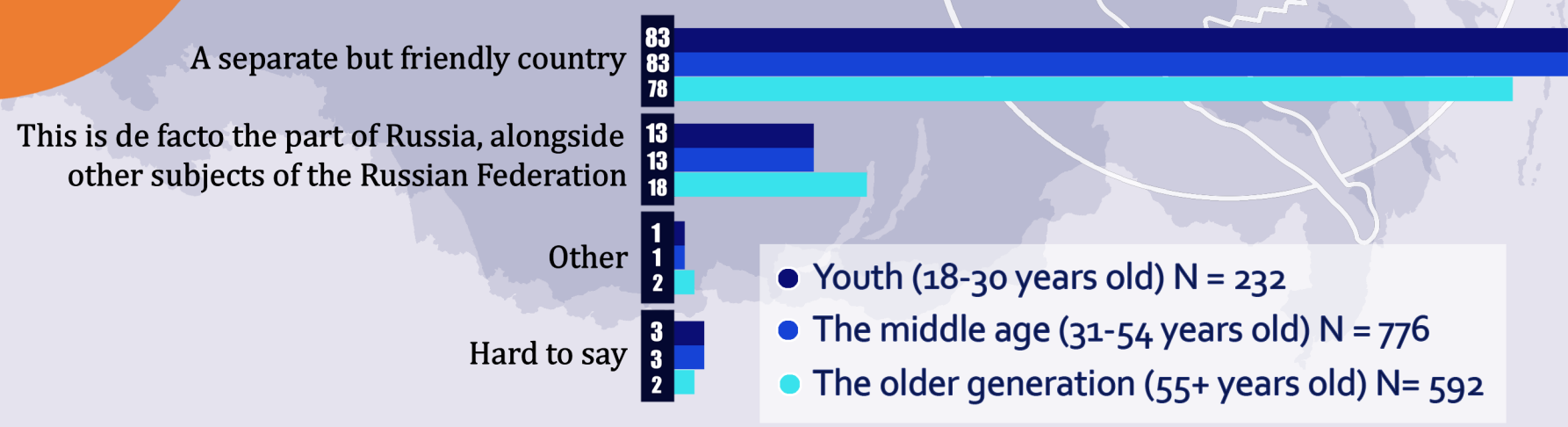
# RUSSIA AND BELARUS



## What is Belarus to you ... %



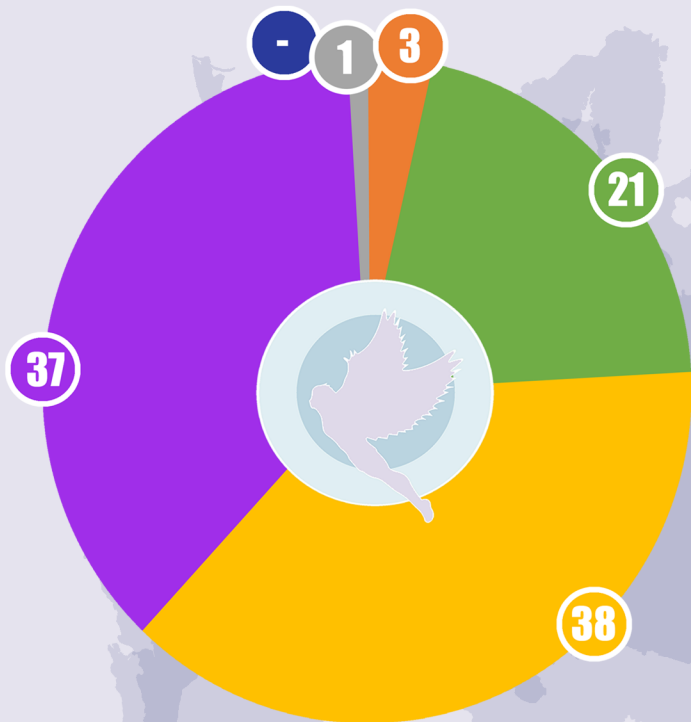
## Age characteristics of responses



# RUSSIA AND BELARUS



## How different do you think Russians and Belarusians are?, %



- These are entirely different nations
- These nations have both similarities and differences
- Russians and Belarusians are very similar
- Russians and Belarusians are one nation/people
- Other
- Hard to say

### Age characteristics of responses

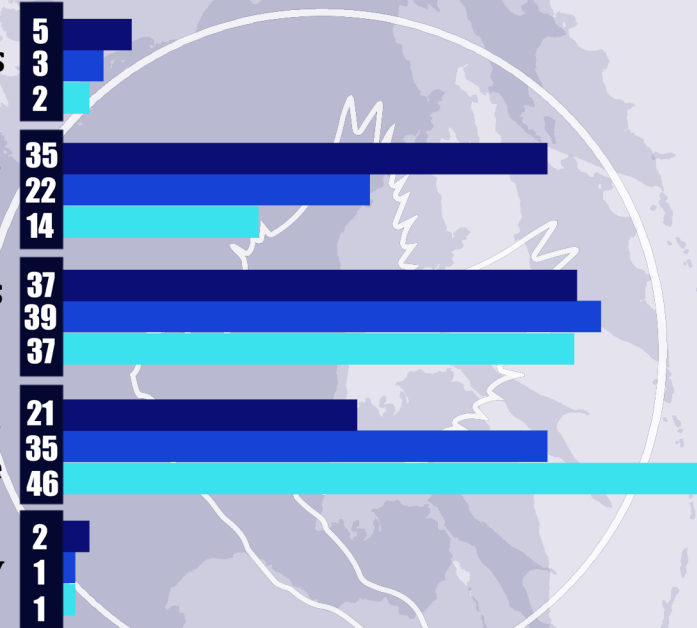
These are entirely different nations

These nations have both similarities and differences

Russians and Belarusians are very similar

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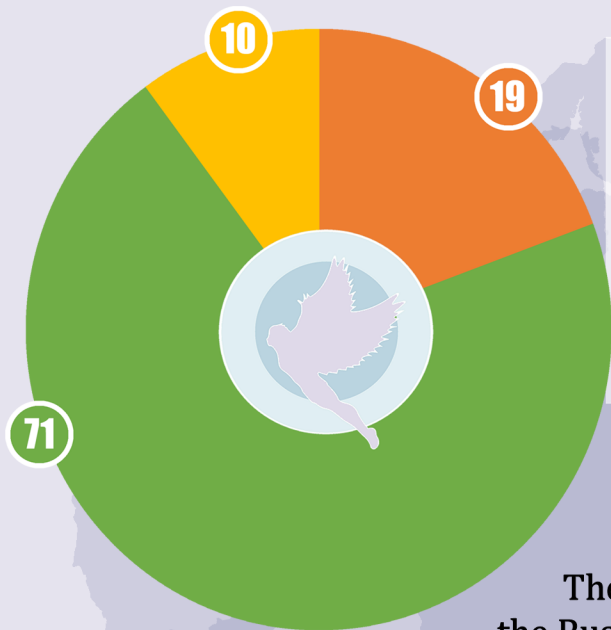
- Youth (18-30 years old) N = 232
- The middle age (31-54 years old) N = 776
- The older generation (55+ years old) N = 592



# RUSSIA AND THE BORDERS



Which statement is closer to you?, %



- The borders of Russia end where the Russian language stops sounding
- The borders of Russia end within the internationally recognized borderline of the Russian Federation
- Hard to say

The borders of Russia end where the Russian language stops sounding

The borders of Russia end within the internationally recognized borderline of the Russian Federation

Hard to say

## Age characteristics of responses



- Youth (18-30 years old) N = 232
- The middle age (31-54 years old) N = 776
- The older generation (55+ years old) N = 592

# RUSSIA AND THE BORDERS



And which of these statements is closer to you?, %

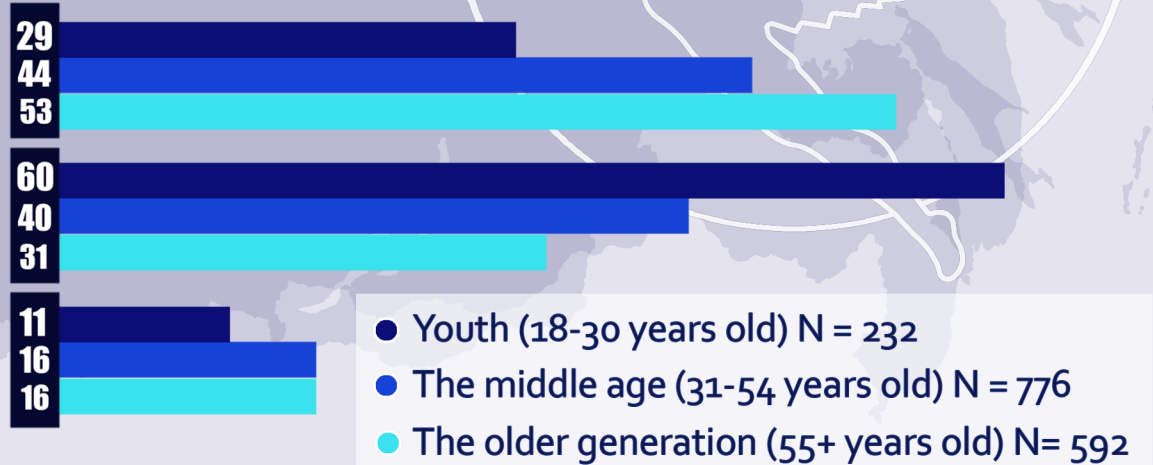


Restoring historical justice is more important than international law and formal borders

International law and recognized borders are more important than restoring historical justice

Hard to say

Age characteristics of responses



THE MIRROR OF RUSSIA

THE MIRROR OF RUSSIA



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